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THE

# USURPATIONS OF ENGLAND

THE CHIEF SOURCES OF THE

# MISERIES OF IRELAND;

AND

The Legiſlative Independence of this Kingdom, the only Means of ſecuring and perpetuating the Commercial Advantages lately recovered.

By a Native of IRELAND, and a Lover of the BRITISH EMPIRE.

Major Hæreditas venit unicuique Noſtrum
A JURE ET LEGIBUS, quam a Parentibus. CICERO.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

# PEOPLE

OF

# IRELAND.

IF we compare the preſent hopes and expectations of Ireland, with thoſe her late ſituation permitted us to indulge, one would be tempted to imagine that a change ſo wonderfully ſudden had been effected by ſome miraculous interpoſition in our favour.

From the inſtant of our connexion with England, I know not the ſtation an Iriſhman could place himſelf in, from which, until the preſent hour, he could look forward with ſincere ſatisfaction. The poignancy of his grief for the paſt ſufferings of his unhappy country could

only be exceeded by his fears for the future.

Fortunately however the ſpirit of her people, rouſed into energy by reiterated ſufferings and enlightened by knowledge, bids fair to diſpel that diſmal gloom, which has ſo long obſcured their political horizon. The Ruddy Morn, chaſing away a dark and tedious night, enables us to behold, as it were in perſpective, thoſe long wiſhed for times, when the full enjoyment of freedom ſhall give a reliſh to earnings of induſtry, and a well directed labour, unreſtrained by foreign jealouſy, ſhall adorn every cottage with plenty and content.

Upon ſcenes like theſe the delighted imagination could for ever dwell with unceaſing ſatisfaction, and poetic fancy, animated by the generous warmth of Patriotiſm, might feel the glow of inſpiration in painting the riſing glories of our Iſland,

Leſs pleaſing, but much more inſtructive, is the taſk of the Politician.—His province

province it is, by recalling their attention to paſt misfortunes, to teach his fellow citizens to uſe their proſperity with becoming moderation, to inſtruct them in the cauſes from whence theſe misfortunes have proceeded, and to enforce, with all the power of eloquence, the neceſſity of guarding againſt the operation of ſimilar cauſes hereafter.

In times like the preſent, when Nations beſtow their firſt and chief attention upon improvements in Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, when theſe are ranked amongſt the moſt important objects of their policy, and are conſidered to be the only genuine ſources of wealth, proſperity and power, a ſtranger to our hiſtory and our climate, obſerving, that our lands lie waſte and uncultivated, that the inhabitants of this country are lazy and indolent, and that Ireland poſſeſſes neither manufactures nor commerce, could not eaſily conceive to what other cauſes theſe appearances ſhould be attributed, except to the native barrenneſs of the ſoil, or to an original

original defect in the people, or to a ſituation unfriendly to commercial intercourſe.

But will you, my countrymen, reſt ſatisfied with theſe reaſons? Know you not that they are falſe and groundleſs? And would you not with an honeſt boldneſs, prompted by a conſciouſneſs of ſuffering merit, inform him, " that nature, " inſtead of diſtributing her favours upon " this kingdom with a ſparing hand, had " beſtowed upon her the moſt productive " fertility, that ſhe had endowed her " men with ſtrength and vigour, that ſhe " had made her a ſtorehouſe, containing " every material neceſſary for the perfec- " tion of the moſt uſeful manufactures, " and that having formed her an iſland " and placed her upon the verge of the " great Atlantic, ſhe gave her to hold the " balance between the Eaſt and Weſt, " and bade her aſpiring ambition aim at " the commerce of the world?

To remove at once his doubts and add to his aſtoniſhment might you not proceed to inform him, " that it was in your

" connexion

" connexion with a neighbouring king-
" dom, united to you by the ties of ſiſter-
" hood, governed by the ſame Prince and
" poſſeſſed of a ſimilar conſtitution, that
" he muſt ſearch for the cauſes of all
" your misfortunes?" Yes, my country-
men, the power, which England claims
of binding Ireland by her laws, and that
alone, is the ſource, from whence have
proceeded all our diſtreſſes. Animated
by the advantages of ſituation, we were
making rapid ſtrides towards that emi-
nence, for which we were by providence
intended, when like an April froſt, it
blaſted in the bud the moſt promiſing
appearances of national proſperity. Are
we miſerable at home and contemptible
abroad? Is Ireland known, only to be the
ſcorn of the nations of Europe? For
theſe and many ſuch favours muſt England
be thanked?

In truth I could not be anſwerable for
the conſequences, were I to attempt rouſ-
ing your honeſt indignation by tracing
the footſteps of this power and by de-
monſtrating to you, that, in every in-
ſtance,

ſtance, it has been uniformly exerted from no other principle, than to depreſs this country and elevate, upon its ruin, the proſperity of Britain.

What would you ſay, were I to inform you that in the beginning of the reign of the glorious king William, this kingdom was in poſſeſſion of a very flouriſhing woollen manufacture? So flouriſhing indeed as nearly to rival that of England; and that at one ſtroke ſhe robbed us of the exportation of that moſt profitable commodity? Not content with injuſtice, in order to render our humiliation more galling, it became neceſſary to inſult us. Leaſt there might be a poſſibility of miſtaking the reaſons from which they acted, and from that generous candour, ſo characteriſtic of our country, we might ſuppoſe their intentions were leſs hoſtile to our intereſts in reality, than they were in appearance, in that very law, which deprived us of the manufacture of wool for foreign markets, it is ſtiled "the "greateſt and moſt profitable commodity

"on

" on which the trade of the nation " and value of the lands do chiefly " depend." A moſt powerful argument to induce us to ſit down contented with our loſs. Whilſt you read, runs not your blood cold in your veins? Can you feel yourſelves MEN and yet remain ſubject to ſo accurſed a power? To a power, whoſe baleful influence, at this very time, drove from amongſt you twenty thouſand induſtrious manufacturers?

Hear the declaration of your Prince, when under the direction of Britiſh councils, upon the ſame ſubject. " I ſhall do " all that in me lies to diſcourage the " woollen manufacture in Ireland and to " promote the trade of England."

We are called ſiſter kingdoms, but ſurely our common parent has not treated us alike. It has often been obſerved that the growing beauties and riſing virtues of a younger daughter have been concealed and ſuppreſſed, leaſt ſhe might leſſen the attentions and regards ſuppoſed due to the

elder, and rival her in the affections of her admirers, Ireland is that younger ſiſter; ſhe has not been permitted to come forward, becauſe her attractions would have diminiſhed thoſe of England, and ſhe would have ſhared with her in the favours of the world.

We think ourſelves much indebted to that Prince for the eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion in this kingdom. But to have encouraged our induſtry and to have extended our commerce would have been infinitely more valuable to us. The progreſs of trade, gradually introducing good order, œconomy and knowledge amongſt all ranks of people and enlarging their ideas, as their intercourſe with mankind increaſed, would have operated more forcibly than any other cauſe, in freeing us from national prejudices, the abſurdities of ſuperſtition and the influence of prieſts.

Athough, however, England refuſed to ſhare her proſperity with us, ſhe was particularly attentive to make us partakers of

of her adverſe fortunes. Every friend ſhe kept to herſelf, or if ſhe gained a new ally, planted lately acquired colonies, or diſcovered kingdoms before unknown, ſhe alone was the reſervoir, into which all the golden ſtreams, that flowed from theſe new ſources of wealth, were turned.

But her enemies became our enemies, and altho' we were unconcerned in the origin, and could reap no advantage from the continuance of the quarrel, yet every foe of hers was ours. England muſt be wounded through our ſides; and powerful nations, when they feared to make a direct attack upon the Britiſh lion, ſingled us out for the objects of their vengeance, and pointed their reſentments againſt our peaceful harp.

Dreadful indeed was our ſituation! Upon all ſides encompaſſed with evils, and not poſſeſſed of the fainteſt ray of hope to mingle with and allay our fears!

Yet

Yet wonderful to tell: from this accumulated diſtreſs, out of thoſe very circumſtances, which ſeemed all conſpiring to render our ruin inevitable, have ariſen our preſent pleaſing proſpects of future glory, wealth and grandeur.

In that hour, when, deſtitute of a military force ſufficient for our defence, we dreaded a foreign invaſion, in that hour, when children called to their parents, ſiſters to their brothers, and wives to their huſbands for protection, the ſpirit of the nation, hitherto callous thro' misfortune, could not remain longer inſenſible to ſuch powerful inducements. It at length awakened, and the men of Ireland, anxious to preſerve inviolate thoſe dear connexions, in an inſtant fly to arms. Warriors ſhoot forth in every part of the kingdom, and preſent an undaunted front to a threatning and inſulting foe. The living ſhores of France, covered with ſoldiers ready to burſt like a thunderbolt upon this devoted land, inſtead of diſmaying, increaſed

creaſed the ardour, which glowed in every breaſt: and whilſt, whatever could be dear to men was at ſtake, danger and death became a ſport.

Theſe wonderous efforts produced proportional conſequences. The ſpirit of the nation ſhot forth acroſs the channel like a peſtilence, and blaſted thoſe dangerous deſigns, which the enemies of England had meditated againſt us.—The French dreaded to viſit a country, where every citizen preſented a ſoldier.

When the mind is rouſed by any great effort, it ſeldom ſtops ſhort, but in every inſtant of its progreſs acquiring freſh vigour and activity, its reſtleſs nature ſtimulates it to ſearch after new objects of diſcuſſion. Our fears from France being over, we began to enquire, if there yet remained other foes, whom we ſhould guard againſt, and we found there yet was one left; the more dangerous, as it was lurking in our very boſom, like a canker, had eat its way into

into our vitals, and was preying upon our conſtitution. We diſcovered that our liberty had been invaded by England, and that ſhe had not only robbed us of our birthright, but had even tied up our hands from acquiring a compenſation for ſo irreparable a loſs. Men embodied and in arms feel in a moſt peculiar and forcible manner the ſenſation of independence. Mutual confidence, running from breaſt to breaſt, and increaſing as it advances, inſpires them with ſtrength and reſolution, and fills them with conceptions, which, when alone and unſupported by each other, they dared not to have entertained. It was thus that the people of Ireland, conſcious of the juſtice of their cauſe, emboldened by the integrity of their intentions, and confident from their union, demanded from Britain a redreſs of grievances. The holy flame of liberty aſcending from the multitude, inſinuated itſelf into the breaſts of our ſenators. The parliament and the peo-

ple

ple became as one man. There was no reſiſting their requeſts.

The miniſter of Britain ſhrunk before them, and finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, he determined to elude its violence by a partial acquieſcence. Some thing like a free trade was granted. I ſay SOMETHING LIKE A FREE TRADE; for there yet remain ſeveral odious reſtraints, impoſed by the authority of a Britiſh legiſlature, which ſerve as living monuments of our ſlavery and proofs of the power of our maſters. Altho' we are permitted to export glaſs where we pleaſe, yet we dare not import it from any other kingdom than that of Britain. At this hour, when ſome fooliſhly imagine every thing has been done, which can or ought to be required, we are ſtill obliged to purchaſe hops from England, and to add to this infringement of our natural rights, we muſt import them ſubject to the duties impoſed there, when every other nation in the world is invited to their market, by being entitled to the drawback. There

are

are even at this day inſtances of the authority of the Britiſh Parliament having ſpread ſo far over this country, as to interfere in the regulation of our domeſtic œconomy and internal police. A Britiſh ſtatute inflicts a penalty upon an IRISHMAN, who ſhall IN IRELAND, mix hops with any other commodity. I will grant the favours of England to have been abundant; but they can never amount to a FREE TRADE, ſo long as the ſmalleſt reſtraints are laid upon our commerce, or ſo long as that commerce is liable to the future reviſion of a foreign legiſlature.

Our petitions having not therefore been yet fully complied with, is it not the very extreme of folly to break forth into tranſports of joy for inadequate conceſſions? for conceſſions, which under the ſemblance of harbingers of proſperity, have the fatal tendency of rivetting ſtill faſter an authority, which has for a century held us in chains, and which we are impatient to get rid of.

When

When I ſee the burnt incenſe of grateful hearts offered up to this miniſter by Iriſhmen, I cannot help conſidering it as a ſpecies of idolatry. I lament the infatuation of my countrymen for their falſe gods and miſtaken worſhip. Can you be weak enough to believe that the preſent revolution ſo favourable to Ireland, proceeds from motives ſo pure, as a diſintereſted regard for our rights and liberties? Can you imagine that the man, who ſported with the privileges of our American brethren, feels a ſincere affection for yours? There is a conſiſtency in his character which deſtroys the ſuppoſition.

Believe me thoſe wonderous conceſſions flowed not from his wiſhes for your welfare, but from his fears from your ſpirit. If praiſe is to be given, the volunteers of Ireland deſerve the loudeſt applauſes. To them and them alone, we are indebted for the tender mercies of my Lord North. A miniſter, who had loſt to the crown thirteen flouriſhing provinces and reduced to the verge of deſtruction the moſt potent kingdom

in the world, dreaded to raiſe up a new and unthought of foe. He was well aware, that, a fortunate concurrence of circumſtances having placed the balance of the Britiſh empire in our hands, its exiſtence depended upon the conduct of this nation. To have forced us by an obſtinate refuſal of our demands into the oppoſite ſcale would have totally deſtroyed the equilibrium and ſhe muſt at length have ſunk under the accumulated weight of her enemies.

In this inſtance it muſt be confeſſed that our governors ſeem to have profited by the ſad experience, they had purchaſed at ſo high a rate, in the American conteſt. Fearing to unite us ſtill cloſer, either by a ſilent contempt, or direct denial of requeſts ſo ſtrongly urged, and followed to the throne by the cries of three millions of people, they endeavoured to diſſolve that harmony, which can alone render us formidable, by a partial diſtribution of benefits; and by holding out to us the flattering proſpect of ſudden wealth, they laboured to turn away our eyes from

from that alone, which was worthy of our attention; they laboured to bury in oblivion the power, which the Britiſh parliament claims over the legiſlature of this kingdom, and to prevent that queſtion from being fully canvaſſed at this time, when the minds of the people are ſo well prepared to withſtand, nay to annihilate it, as being the offſpring of uſurpation and injuſtice.

*Sed latet anguis in Herba.*

They wiſh to lull us aſleep, untill the preſent glorious opportunity, ſo favourable to the recovering of our long loſt rights, be irrecoverably paſt. Never in any period of the hiſtory of nations, was the re-eſtabliſhment of FREEDOM placed ſo much within the reach of a people. Let us but pronounce the word with one voice, and it is done unleſs we trifle with the occaſion. Her ſons have now the power to eſtabliſh the dignity of Ireland, and her legiſlative independence, without danger, expence, or bloodſhed. To give ourſelves a conſtitution, to become a nation is yet required of us. And ſhall we give up the race, and

ſtop

ſtop ſhort in our career, when the goal, which is to crown all our endeavours, is juſt at hand? The parliament of Ireland has ſhewn itſelf worthy of our confidence, and has exhibited in thoſe degenerate days, political virtue in her pureſt luſtre. Can we heſitate in attempting to emancipate ourſelves and this illuſtrious body, from the authority of that monſter of corruption, the Britiſh ſenate?

I muſt conjure you, my gallant countrymen, not to be thrown off your guard by what has been already done. Thoſe men, who wiſh to drown the murmurs of diſſatisfaction, in the loud cries of tumultuous joy, are the worſt of enemies. Ireland muſt not, nay ſhall not be ſatisfied, whilſt England claims the power of ſubjecting her to every reſtraint, which miſtaken policy, narrow ſelfiſhneſs, or capricious tyranny may deem ſubſervient to the purpoſes of oppreſſion.

Is there one amongſt us, would wiſh to be indebted either to the juſtice or clemency

clemency of Britain? Think you that this one inſtance of ſeeming ſympathy, and ſhew of friendſhip ſufficiently atones for the numerous calamities, ſhe has brought upon this nation? Is it becauſe ſhe made a merit of neceſſity and became liberal from compulſion, that we ſhall always truſt in the benignity of her future intentions? No, a conduct like this would be folly in the extreme. If we are wiſe, let us employ the preſent neceſſity, or, to ſpeak in a phraſe more palatable to our courtiers, thoſe new fangled affections of Britain, for the benefit of our country. Let us inſiſt upon the right of our parliament to be free from the controul of the Britiſh legiſlature.

We have very lately obſerved with what weight, inſtructions conveyed to our repreſentatives by the unanimous voice of the nation, have been attended. The wiſhes and deſires of the people, altho' weak and inefficacious, when diffuſed over the whole extent of the kingdom, yet being concentered in the national aſſembly as into one focus, and being

being ſtrengthened by the conſtitutional aſſiſtance of that body, muſt neceſſarily become irreſiſtable. If therefore we are ſincere in our wiſhes for the eſtabliſhment of the legiſlative independence of this kingdom, would it not be proper, nay, is it not incumbent upon every county, every town and every volunteer company, to form reſolutions upon this moſt important ſubject, and to tranſmit them to the parliament, accompanied with the ſtrongeſt intreaties, not to grant further ſums of money, nor to prolong the duration of thoſe already granted, untill Britain ſhall acquieſce in our claims, and the moſt perfect ſecurity is obtained for the continuance of our liberties? If reſolutions like the following became univerſal, might not the happieſt conſequences to this country flow from them?

Reſolved,

1. "That the kingdom of Ireland "cannot be free, whilſt under the con- "troul of any other authority than that "of our rightful ſovereign Geo. 3d.

"and

" and our houſes of Lords and Com-
" mons in Parliament aſſembled.

2 " That the Britiſh acts lately paſſ-
" ed relative to this kingdom, which
" declare that it is EXPEDIENT to
" redreſs ſome of the grievances of Ire-
" land, do not amount to a full re-
" linquiſhment or renunciation of the
" rights aſſumed over us by the Britiſh
" parliament.

3 " That we ſhould therefore have
" but ſmall reaſon to rejoice at the changes
" in our condition, did not the libe-
" ral policy, which now ſeems to in-
" fluence the Britiſh legiſlature, and the
" firm exertions of diſintereſted pa-
" triotiſm in the Iriſh parliament give
" us the ſtrongeſt reaſons to hope, that
" the former will be as ready to reſign
" this authority, as the latter will be
" forward in their demand of it.

4 " That we ſhould be wanting to
" ourſelves, to poſterity, and our coun-
" try, if we forebore declaring in the
" moſt public manner, that we will,
" with

" with all manly firmneſs, ſecond the " endeavours of our parliament in aſ- " ſerting the prerogative of our ſover- " eign and the natural rights of the " people of Ireland."

When I recommend this mode of proceeding, I recommend it as the beſt means, of diffuſing throughout the kingdom true ideas of what our conſtitution " SHOULD BE,"' of engaging all ranks in its defence, and of ſecuring to ourſelves and perpetuating to the lateſt poſterity thoſe valuable rights we have lately recovered.

Are we rejoiced at the unbounded proſpects opened to us by the operation of a free frade? Is the imagination buſy in anticipating the happy alterations in the cultivation, produce, population, and riches of this kingdom? Are we delighted with the thought, that every wind which blows may be henceforth wafting to thoſe ſhores, ſhips of valuable merchandize? As uncertain as thoſe very winds are all our hopes and expectations, unleſs the power claimed over us by the Britiſh parliament

liament be relinquiſhed. The breath of that houſe, as opportunity may offer, jealouſy or caprice prevail, can level in an inſtant with the ground all thoſe viſionary caſtles; for viſionary they ever muſt be, as long as our trade is not in our own hands, but ſubject to be cramped by foreign reſtraints.

For I will ſuppoſe that this kingdom remains contented with what has been already held out to her, and that ſhe has profited as much by her preſent advantages, as the moſt ardent imagination can conceive; I will ſuppoſe that her commerce increaſes, and that manufactures flock to her from every quarter of the globe; I will ſuppoſe that the warehouſes of the merchants are not only crammed with raw materials neceſſary for the ſeveral branches of manufacture, but alſo with various commodities wrought up for exportation; I will ſuppoſe that the propitious breezes fill the ſwelling ſails of proud and numerous ſhips; I will ſuppoſe all this, and what have we to boaſt of? Behold a mandate from the Britiſh parliament ties up the hands of our ma-

nufacturers, expels them from amongſt us, involves in general ruin the merchants and the people, locks up our harbours, and annihilates our fleets! I do not ſay that Great Britain will ſo glaringly abuſe her power; But I do ſay, that as long as this nation acquieſces under her authority, there is not any thing to reſtrain her from whatever the luſt of domination may ſuggeſt. Is there a ſlavery more cruel than this? Or can we enter with ſpirit into any branch of trade whilſt we hold it by a tenure ſo inſecure? Can we ſit down contented to the banquet which our maſters have prepared for us, whilſt the ſword of power is ſuſpended over us by the ſlendereſt hair, the caprice of a Britiſh Legiſlature pretending to omnipotence?

I have here ſuppoſed that our commerce might have flouriſhed under the preſent reſtrictions, merely to ſhew, that the only conſequence of our proſperity would be to leave us at the mercy of Engliſh clemency for its continuation and enjoyment.

But I will now, my countrymen, venture to aſſert, that trade and manufactures never can flouriſh in this kingdom, until we are emancipated from Britiſh authority,

Security to property and to the acquiſitions of induſtry is the only method to excite man to labour, or to inſpire him with a wiſh to increaſe his ſtore. It is for this reaſon that commerce never has been known to flouriſh under abſolute governments. The foſtering hand of liberty has ever been found neceſſary to raiſe it to maturity and perfection.

Why ſhould men wiſh to accumulate wealth, of which they may be deprived the next hour, and which expoſes them ſtill more to the tyranny of their rulers? In ſuch ſtates the wretchedneſs of individuals conſtitutes their ſafety. The ſtorm of paſſion, the furious lightening, that flaſhes from the eye of enraged majeſty, glide paſt the humble cottages to burſt upon ſtately towers and ſplendid palaces. Whilſt the meaneſt peaſant lives without fear, the rich owner of fertile

and unbounded plains is under continual apprehenſions.

In the caſe of Ireland, it makes not any difference whether this dominion be placed in the hands of one man, or of many. Our ſlavery is complete as long as we are ſubject to regulations made by a legiſlature, in the election of which we had not a voice, and over whoſe members we have not the leaſt controul. If any thing could add to a ſlavery in its nature ſo perfect, it would be, that we are under the government of a power, whoſe views may be diſtinct, and whoſe intereſts may be oppoſite to ours. Which of us in thoſe caſes ſhall be the firſt to ſuffer requires little penetration to foreſee.

Indeed the very argument uſed by thoſe, who ſtile themſelves men of moderation, to make us ceaſe in our demands, is the ſtrongeſt reaſon for urging the point with the greateſt earneſtneſs. The more beneficial thoſe privileges are, which have been now reſtored unto us, the more careful ſhould we be in ſecuring them beyond the power of recal. Unleſs our

conſtitution

conſtitution be made independent of an external juriſdiction, to increaſe our commerce is only to render us a more valuable plunder. Whilſt this juriſdiction remains, the advantages, which muſt reſult from this new change in our ſituation, can only tend to expoſe us ſtill further to the rapacity of our governors, and to make their power more dreadful, by preſenting additional inducements to exert it.

Unleſs England relinquiſhes the claim of ſupremacy over this nation, we ſhould dread growing wealthy, as the captives of ſome ſavage nations have dreaded growing fat, the miſerable wretches knowing that they were pampered, only to haſten the period, when the ſleekneſs of their appearance ſhould point them out as victims to the infernal appetites of their maſters, by loathing their food, endeavoured to keep themſelves poor and lean.

It was thus that our poverty became our conſolation. We derived comfort, a caſe which often happens in this life, from the extremity of our diſtreſs. We were

were not troubled with fears, for we had nothing to loſe. Deſtitute of every thing, which could invite the cravings of avarice, we did not dream of the neceſſity of bolts and bars. But now that the proſpect is changed and unbounded wealth is placed within our graſp, our vigilance ſhould increaſe and the firſt object of our policy ſhould be, to acquire to ourſelves a conſtitution, under whoſe protection, the produce of our future labours will be preſerved inviolate.

Thus, my countrymen, have I endeavoured to ſhew you that the misfortunes of Ireland have ſolely ariſen from the power uſurped by the Britiſh legiſlature of binding you by their laws.—I have pointed out ſome of the moſt grievous exerciſes of that power, and have further attempted to prove, from the uniform diſpoſition of the Britiſh government, that the preſent, or indeed any relaxations, whilſt the authority which granted them, remains unqueſtioned, can have no other tendency, than to make us a more valuable property to England.

As long as memory retains her place within our breaſts, we muſt be in continual dread, leaſt ſhe may return to her former meaſures. It is not at once that nations more than individuals, can totally conquer rooted diſpoſitions, fixed habits and inveterate prejudices; how much more natural was it then to aſcribe thoſe wondrous conceſſions to the dread of converting into an enemy, a nation become formidable by her ſpirit and her ſoldiers. This I uſed as an argument, to induce you to puſh to the utmoſt your preſent advantages, and not defer, until after ages, an opportunity, too precious to be loſt, and when loſt never to be recalled, and to rouſe you at this critical time to employ every effort to procure the abolition of this fatal power, without which, you cannot flouriſh in commerce, become reſpectable as a nation, or free as a people. A demand of this nature will be a moſt perfect touchſtone of Britiſh ſincerity. If it be her intention that the rights now recovered by this country ſhould be inviolable, and that the liberties of Ireland are to remain ſacred, what reaſon can ſhe employ for retaining

taining a power, uſeleſs to her, and dreadful to us? Why keep poſſeſſion of an authority, which muſt be eternally creating mutual jealouſy and diſtruſt? We groſsly deceive ourſelves, if we think that the wounds inflicted on this unhappy country can ever be cured, unleſs the hand which gave them, be diſarmed. They may be ſkinned over, but it is only to break out hereafter with tenfold virulence. Our poſterity, inſtead of bleſſing us for their inheritance, will curſe their timid and degenerate anceſtors, who, when they had it in their power to acquire the fee ſimple clear of every incumbrance, only tranſmitted to them GARBLED PRIVILEGES, MUTILATED RIGHTS AND DOUBTFUL LIBERTIES.

FINIS.

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